

Mr. NORRIS. The resolution contains no such provision. It has already been referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, over which the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] presides as chairman. I anticipate that there will be no delay in the committee in taking action on the resolution. It provides for the expenditure of \$1,000 from the contingent fund of the Senate. At first I thought I should ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution, but I wish to do as I think this cooperative organization has done. I wish to lean backward in being fair to anybody who opposes it. I wish to give anyone who opposes it an opportunity to be heard and let the committee decide whether the law should be amended or whether justice can be obtained without amending the law. This may not be the only case. There may be others of a little different nature. So far as this controversy is concerned, I admit, for the sake of argument, that those on both sides of the question are perfectly honest. I do not see how there can be any dispute. The organization represents between 6,000,000 and 8,000,000 families of American citizens, who should have the right to advocate on the air what they believe should be done, in the same way as the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or any of the various corporations or associations appears from time to time over the radio.

Mr. LANGER. Has not the Federal Communications Commission the power to cancel the license of a broadcasting station?

Mr. NORRIS. I think so. Mr. Loeb, the author of the editorial in the Vermont newspaper, is of the opinion that complaint should be made to the Federal Communications Commission. After looking over the editorial and reading other things besides what I have put into the RECORD, I have reached the conclusion that possibly if complaint were made to the Federal Communications Commission the result might be that the complainants would lose, on the theory that an amendment to the law is necessary. Personally I do not believe that to be true, but I wished to obtain the judgment of the committee, which 7 years ago reported the bill which later became the present act. Under all the circumstances, I believe that the best course to pursue is to submit a resolution to authorize the Committee on Interstate Commerce to investigate all the facts.

SUPPLEMENTAL NATIONAL DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 7672, making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 7672) making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR].

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McNARY. What action did the Senate take? My attention was distracted for a moment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The motion to proceed to the consideration of House bill 7672 has been agreed to by the Senate.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, that is too fast. That does not conform to the understanding in the RECORD. I am surprised that the Senator from Tennessee, without conferring with me, would rise when I was engaged in conversation with another Senator and move to make the bill the unfinished business. On last Tuesday we had a definite understanding, which appears in the RECORD on page 8364. Following a colloquy I stated:

Then, with the understanding that the Senator may have permission to file the report, and upon the request of any Senator not familiar with the record or the bill, it may go over until the next session of the Senate, I shall not object.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I remember that perfectly well; and I will live up to it.

Mr. McNARY. Will not the Senator ask for a reconsideration of the vote by which his motion was agreed to?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Does the Senator wish to have it reconsidered?

Mr. McNARY. I do.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Let me ask the Senator a question. Would it not be better to let the bill become the unfinished business?

Mr. McNARY. No; I wish to conform to the record. That is my style. We had a perfect understanding. I may or may not object later; but I do not want any Senator to rise and make a motion quickly when I am otherwise engaged, and have a record made which does not conform to the record made a few days ago.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I did not know that it did not conform to the RECORD.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator certainly remembers the agreement made a few days ago.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I remember it perfectly; and I will live up to it entirely.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote by which my motion was agreed to be reconsidered, and that the motion be withdrawn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I shall be delighted to renew the motion later.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	George	Pepper
Andrews	Gerry	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Russell
Ball	Gurney	Schwartz
Barbour	Hatch	Shipstead
Barkley	Hayden	Spencer
Bilbo	Hill	Stewart
Bone	Johnson, Calif.	Thomas, Idaho
Bulow	Kilgore	Thomas, Okla.
Bunker	La Follette	Thomas, Utah
Burton	Langer	Truman
Butler	McCarran	Tunnell
Byrd	McFarland	Tydings
Capper	McKellar	Vandenberg
Caraway	McNary	Van Nuys
Chandler	Maloney	Wagner
Chavez	Maybank	Wallgren
Clark, Idaho	Murray	Walsh
Connally	Norris	Wheeler
Danaher	Nye	Wiley
Downey	O'Daniel	Willis
Doxey	O'Mahoney	
Ellender	Overton	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], the Senators from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE and Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. LEE], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROSIER], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LONE], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKEN] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] is absent because of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

PICTORIAL CRITICISM OF THE SENATE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I do not want to take more than a brief moment of the Senate's time, but I feel it is due the Senate and the country to call attention to a picture appearing in the November issue of the magazine known as Click. The picture purports to represent the United States Senate in the midst of war. Ordinarily, I do not answer my mail on the floor of the Senate, but I now hold in my hand a letter which I received a few days ago from Mr. Wade H. Nichols, editor of Click, calling my attention to an article in the November issue on the subject of A Victory Congress. I shall read the letter in order that it may go into the RECORD:

CLICK, INC.,

New York City, October 2, 1942.

Senator ALBEN BARKLEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BARKLEY: I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of Click magazine for November. Featured in this issue is

an article titled "Victory Congress" (p. 3), which I believe you will find of particular interest because of its constructive and sincere consideration of matters which must be of grave concern to you, as they are to all who now shape America's destiny.

Since our magazine must return many times in the future to similar consideration of the responsibilities and achievements of the Congress, I would be deeply grateful for any remarks you might address to me as evidence of your own reaction to the article mentioned. I feel that your attitudes and aspirations should be reflected in our attempts to contribute to the thinking of our readers—your constituency.

Please be assured that I would be happy to publish any letter which you might care to compose for public consumption, or to hold in confidence any comments which you might indicate to be personal.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

WADE H. NICHOLS, Editor.

I have read the article referred to in Mr. Nichols' letter. With much of it I agree. I am not prompted to rise at this time to discuss the article itself, but in order that I may discuss a picture which accompanied the article, which is held out to the American people as a fair representation of the Senate of the United States in the midst of this great world crisis. I should be glad to have other Senators look at the picture. It occupies more than half of the first page of the article. So far as I can count and identify Senators whose likenesses appear in the picture, the picture shows six or eight Senators on the floor of the Senate. We all know that it is against the rules of the Senate to take pictures of the Senate when it is in session. No one is allowed to take pictures of the Senate when it is in session, either from the floor or from the galleries. We have never departed from that rule. On one or two occasions when the Senate took a recess to receive some prominent guest, such as Winston Churchill, Queen Wilhelmina, or King George of Greece, permission was given to take a photograph of the Senate during the addresses delivered by the distinguished guests; but under the rules of the Senate, when it is in session, no one is allowed to take a picture; and, so far as I recall, that rule has never been knowingly violated or suspended. No one could object to a picture of the Senate which was truly representative, and the rule of the Senate on that subject was not promulgated years ago in order to protect the Senate against itself.

However, the magazine contains a picture, Mr. President, obviously taken from the floor itself, just within the door on the eastern side of the Chamber, and the picture purports to be that of a session of the Senate. I shall read the headline appearing over the picture:

This picture should make you fighting mad! This is the United States Senate, debating the confirmation of a major Presidential appointment. Try counting the Senators who are present—out of 96.

Mr. President, that picture was not taken during the existence of the present war. It was not taken since war was declared in Europe in 1939. I do not know exactly when it was taken; but it is obvious that it was not taken since

April 1939, because in my place here, seated in the chair which I usually occupy, is Senator James Hamilton Lewis, who died on April 9, 1939, 6 months before war broke out in Europe. I do not know how long before that time the picture was taken. I have tried to identify some of the Senators shown in it. Back of my seat, in the seat which he used to occupy, sits Senator Ashurst, of Arizona. Across the aisle, in the seat usually occupied by him, sits the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON]. Seated to his left is a man who—if he is a Senator—has been difficult to identify, even by using a magnifying glass. It has been difficult for the minority leader and me and other Senators to identify who the person is, but evidently he is not here now. Over on the right, at the last desk in the front row, some man is standing with at least one foot in the chair. Toward the rear is the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK]. There are on the floor eight men who are supposed to be Senators, and the picture is supposed to be a picture of the United States Senate in the midst of world war, a great war crisis, and it is held out to the American people as portraying a typical session of the Senate in this great crisis.

I presume that the article to which Mr. Nichols, the editor of the magazine, has called my attention is an editorial, because it is not signed by anyone; so far as I can see no writer's name is signed to the article; and inasmuch as Mr. Nichols sent it to me, I presume he is the author of the article or editorial. I do not attribute to Mr. Nichols any ulterior motive. I do not know whether he knows anything about when the picture was taken. It may be that he thinks it is a typical picture of the United States Senate.

However, regardless of that, here is a magazine which is purchased at all the newsstands of the United States—or, rather, I should say that it is for sale at newsstands. The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] corrects me by saying that it is "for sale," but I presume that it also is purchased by large numbers of persons; because it could not be published indefinitely without being sold to some persons, and I myself have bought it when traveling, when I wanted some light reading and relaxation, and wanted to get my mind off serious matters of state. At such times I have purchased one of the magazines such as Click, Pic, Look, or Don't Look, or Stop Looking—whatever the name may be. [Laughter.]

I have sometimes bought this magazine. It is a picture magazine; it does not pretend to be anything else; it advertises itself as a picture magazine, and frequently it contains very attractive pictures. I happen to see now a very amusing picture to which I will call the attention of the Senator from Oregon.

The magazine is for sale on all the newsstands in the United States. I have no objection to any of the pictures it prints for fun or for entertainment or for any other reason; but I do seriously object to any magazine or publication having one of its representatives sneak into the Senate on a day when the Sen-

ate is not in session and take a photograph when there are only six or eight Members on the floor. It may be that the photographer may have been here before the Senate met or after it had adjourned, because it is impossible that that picture could have been taken while the Senate was deliberating, without a violation of the rule of the Senate. The picture does not even include the chair, the Vice President's desk. So we do not know whether anyone was presiding.

I am calling the attention of the Senate and the country to this obvious fraud on the Senate of the United States, this effort to picture us in the midst of a great crisis, with war all around the world, and when we are sending out boys by the million to the battlefields. It is an obvious fraud to picture the United States Senate in the midst of this crisis with only eight Members present deliberating upon an important Presidential appointment. I do not know, of course, what appointment it was. We all know that in the late afternoon in the Senate when we reach the Executive Calendar and there are no appointments except those of postmasters, which are confirmed en bloc, that Members do not feel any urge to remain here to find out who has been appointed postmaster at Pedunk or Podunk or any other place in the United States.

I think it is unfair to the American people; it is unfair to the very voters to whom this article is appealing, to send out all over this Nation what seems to me to be a phony, bogus picture of the United States Senate and represent it as depicting the lack of interest, the lack of concern, the lack of industry on the part of 88 Members of the Senate, who are unidentified as being absent, although there are 8 Members said to be present, one-half of whom cannot be identified even with a magnifying glass.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, it seems to me that it goes a good deal further than the Senator from Kentucky has indicated. We all recognize that dictatorships are on the increase throughout the world and we all realize the shortcomings of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, for we know the shortcomings of human beings, and the Congress is made up of human beings.

But what these false and unfair attacks upon Congress tend to do is to create in the minds of the people the idea that parliamentary government is a failure, and when such articles and pictures as the one the Senator from Kentucky has called attention to are printed those responsible are playing into the hands of the very people whom they have denounced—the Axis, the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, and the others who say that democracy is a failure. They are instilling in the minds of the people of this country the idea that the parliamentary government is a failure, and if such an idea is sufficiently instilled into the minds of the people they may rise up and do what they have done in other countries where the parliamentary system has

been discredited; they may want to do away with the Congress of the United States entirely, and set up a dictatorship in the United States.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as I said a while ago at the beginning of my remarks, there is much in this article which I can approve. Anybody has the right to urge the people to vote for the right sort of Members of Congress, for those who they believe will serve the people. I find no fault with that. But in the course of this article the writer refers to a former Congressman, Zion* check, who committed suicide and who was engaged while in Washington, as we all recall, in many more or less foolish episodes and escapades. Certainly his actions were not representative of the Congress of the United States, and I do not see why a man who was elected and has gone on to his reward—whatever it may be; I think he died by his own hand—should be held up as typical of the Congress of the United States in order to warn the electorate against that sort of a representative.

I am as much interested as anyone else possibly could be in the election of strong, patriotic men to the Senate of the United States as well as to the House of Representatives. In the course of this article we find pictures of Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, John Quincy Adams, and Cordell Hull as representing the type of men who ought to be elected to the Congress. We cannot refute that. We all have the highest respect for Cordell Hull, with whom we have served here, and we all know that Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, and John Quincy Adams were outstanding and distinguished Members of Congress a hundred years ago. The inference is that there is no one now in Congress worthy to tie the shoelaces of these men, except that the article does refer to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] in terms which we all approve, as the type of an outstanding statesman in the Senate of the United States. According to this article he is the only man in the Senate who measures up to the standards of proper senatorial qualifications. I am willing to say that the Senator from Nebraska goes further than most of us in fulfilling those qualifications, but I do not believe the Senator's friends would say that he is the only man in the Senate who is fitted to be a Member of this great body, much as we admire him and much as we hope he will continue to serve us and the country in the Senate.

The magazine contains a picture taken from the campaign that was started in the State of Washington entitled "Bundles for Congress." It portrays the dome of the Capitol and a crazy-looking horse flying through the air with some sort of a load on his back, and over in the left-hand side another horse is laughing, evidently giving Congress the horse laugh.

Under the words "bundles for Congress" are the words "Esmeralda to the rescue. Do not worry about the war and taxes. Get that pension—Forget the Axis."

I have stated here before, and I think we all recognize, that the so-called con-

gressional pension law as a part of the retirement act applying to Government employees was an unfortunate act upon the part of the Congress. Congress realized that immediately, and repealed the law. Yet this article which is sent out all over the United States contains this picture as a typical representation of the Congress of the United States, although in one sentence in the article it is stated that Congress has done a pretty good job.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I wish to call the attention of the Senator to the table, which appears in the article, of some important legislation which has been enacted by the Congress in the past few years. The table appears on page 5 of the magazine. There is a heading "Before you vote how did your Congressman vote?" and then are listed eight controversial questions which have been passed upon by the Senate and the House since 1939:

The repeal of the arms embargo.

The renewal of trade pacts.

The draft law.

Sending the Army abroad.

The lend-lease bill.

Transferring Axis ships to Britain.

Extension of draft law.

Repeal of the Neutrality Act.

The author of the article requests its readers to judge individual Members of Congress by the votes which were cast upon those eight measures. In other words, the article says to its readers, "If your Congressman supported these measures, then your Congressman was a worthy representative of the people, and was working for victory."

Inasmuch as each one of these acts was passed by the Congress, the standard which the author sets for individual Members of Congress was met by the Congress as a whole. If the argument be proper that a Member of Congress who voted in favor of any of these acts is a good Congressman, then it also follows that the Congress which passed those acts was a good Congress.

Mr. President, that reminds me of a statement the Senator from Kentucky made to me only a few days ago when we were discussing this general subject, namely, that much of the criticism of the Congress has been based not on what Congress has actually done but upon the activities of those who have opposed the policies which were finally adopted. This Congress has been a victory Congress as the record clearly establishes.

But attention should not be diverted from the fact that when the Congress was taking these actions, as, for example, the repeal of the arms embargo, which I think was in November 1939, there was a great division of opinion in the country as to whether that was right or wrong. There was a very large proportion of the public which in November 1939 was of the opinion that the United States could avoid entering the war. There were a

great many citizens in and out of Congress who hoped that it would be possible for us to avoid entering the war. The debates which took place here were characteristic of democracy in action. The result has been the organization of an economy for a victorious war from which there is now no dissent.

As for the photograph to which the Senator has so pointedly drawn attention, it seems to me it offers an opportunity to call attention to the fact that one of the cherished rights of freemen, the right of free speech, is protected in the United States Senate better than it is protected anywhere else in the country, if not in the world. This is practically the only legislative body in the world in which a Member may rise and discuss any question about which he feels the country at large should have some information.

In my opinion, this photograph was probably taken while a Member of the Senate was discussing some matter which he regarded as important, but which was not actually at issue at the time, and which, therefore, did not demand the presence of all Senators. Members of the Senate and Members of the House of Representatives know that most of the work of a legislative body is done in committee, and not upon the floor.

We know that frequently, while the Senate is in session, for example, numerous committees are also in session. We know that the reason why Senator James Hamilton Lewis was sitting in the seat of the majority leader, if this was indeed a session of the Senate, was that as the whip of the Senate it was his duty to watch the proceedings, so that if anything of current importance should arise he could notify the Members of the Senate.

We know that we are frequently called to the floor from committee rooms by the attachés of the Senate when matters of importance to us in our States, or of importance to the public at large, arise. So that even as those now in the gallery look down upon what is transpiring at this moment, they may be misled into the belief that those Senators who are absent are neglecting their duty. The Senators who are absent are either attending some committee meeting, or, for the most part, are attending to business in their offices, or are attending to the innumerable tasks which we have to perform in the departments and bureaus of the Government.

We are now discussing a matter upon which no vote is to be taken. We are merely expressing our opinions in respect to an article appearing in a magazine, but if any Member of this body should now rise to suggest consideration of some measure on the calendar, the first step taken would be for some Senator to rise and say, "I suggest the absence of a quorum," so that absent Senators could be summoned to the floor before any action could be taken. One of the principal duties of the majority and minority leaders is thus to protect the public and the Senate against action except by the will of the Senate.

I have interrupted the Senator merely because I think it is important to call at-

tention to the manner in which the Senate actually works. I have no doubt in the world, as I said a moment ago, that when the photograph to which reference has been made was taken the business of the Senate for that day had been completely transacted, and some Senator had risen to make a speech on some matter which he thought was of public importance, but which had no relation to any pending business.

In the years in which I have served in this body and the previous years during which I had the opportunity to observe its actions, I have seen some of the most eloquent and able Members of the Senate rise and speak to empty chairs, when they were talking not upon a pending issue but upon some other matter upon which public opinion was at the time only in a formative stage. Such speeches, addressed to the public at large, do not require the immediate attention of the whole Senate. It is upon such occasions that attendance falls off, but when controversial issues arise then almost every seat is occupied.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator from Wyoming. Of course, we all know that human nature is such that more publicity and more attention is frequently given to a fight in the Senate, or in any public body, made by a single person against some proposal, than the passage of the act itself receives; that frequently, because of the rather distorted publicity, the country is calculated or liable to receive an impression of the Senate according to what it reads in the newspapers about somebody who is opposed to or fighting something, and they forget that the Congress as a whole, or the Senate as a whole, acts entirely contrary to the position taken by a man who is fighting a measure and who, therefore, gets more publicity concerning it.

The Senator from Wyoming has pointed to the list of legislative acts referred to in the article. All those laws were passed. Congress passed every one of them, and they were controversial. They were debated according to our practice and our privilege here, this being almost the only body left in the world where there is freedom of debate.

We all grow a little impatient now and then at the length of debates, but none of us would be willing to abolish the right to speak on the floor of the United States Senate. My complaint is that the isolated instances in which the Congress may act unwisely are exploited and magnified and publicized as a representation of the character and ability of the Congress, and sight is entirely lost of the fact that over a period, over this particular war period, as I think everybody who is fair minded must say, the Congress of the United States has done an excellent job in its legislative program.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, may I add another word?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I think attention might be called to the fact that probably every Member of the Senate received

a letter from the editor of Click asking him for his comment. The result which has been achieved may not have been beyond the contemplation of the editor. He has received, and his magazine has received, tremendous advertising which it would not have received had the picture not been printed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to the advertising which Click or any other magazine can obtain which will enable it to sell its product, but I think it is unfair to falsify a legislative body, in whom the people of the United States ought to have confidence, and in which I believe they do have confidence, by going back 4 or 5 or 6 years—heaven only knows how far back they went to get this picture—and sending it out all over the United States as representing the Senate of this country in the midst of a great war. I believe this magazine and the editor of it should apologize to the American people for publishing that kind of picture as representing the Senate of the United States.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. BONE. In my service in this body I have seen what is represented by the picture duplicated probably 200 times, but it was at a time when the Senate was not in session.

I desire to say also that I have never seen the Senate in session when some Senator was not on his feet, and if the picture to which reference has been made purports to show the Senate in session during this period, when the United States is engaged in war, with James Hamilton Lewis present in the Senate, the picture is a fake and a fraud, and the man who wrote the story has plastered it all over with badges of fraud; but it is quite typical, sir, of some of the wretched and miserable stuff which has been written about the Senate and House of Representatives in recent years, including the bundles for Congress story.

Mr. BARKLEY. I merely desired to call attention to the obvious fraud which has been perpetrated on the Senate and the country by a picture taken by someone who slipped in and which has been held out to the American people as typical of the deliberations of the Senate.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I am not among those so much disturbed by criticism of Congress, or individual Members of Congress, because, as the distinguished majority leader knows, the able former Members of Congress to whom he referred suffered much more serious criticism than has been inflicted upon any Member of Congress in our time. But I am very much concerned with a matter which is related to this subject, and I rise to ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record at this point, as a part of my remarks, a very interesting article which appeared in the September issue of American Mercury entitled "Boston's Fight Against Rumors." I respectfully urge Senators who have not yet had an opportunity to read the article to give it their attention.

It points out very clearly the grave dangers which are created as a result of

the whisperings and activities of men of evil minds or little minds. It points to how the city of Boston has undertaken, by way of a so-called rumor clinic, to track down and dissipate rumors which are designed, it appears to me, to have a disastrous effect upon our war program. I understand that similar so-called rumor clinics are being or may be established in other cities. I want the article inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD partially for the purpose of bringing it to the attention of people here in the Nation's Capital, in the hope that a like clinic may be established here at the seat of Government, so that we may aid in bringing to light the falsity of these rumors, and probably, if the program is intensively carried out, find some of those responsible for them.

Mr. President, I should like again to urge Senators to examine this very important article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Mercury of September 1942]

BOSTON'S FIGHT AGAINST RUMORS
(By Elsie McCormick)

"This is on me," said a man in a Boston saloon, "I'm celebrating. Just got the first letter from my boy in Australia. He's a corporal now." "Australia?" echoed a stranger beside him at the bar. "No cause to celebrate, my friend. Hundreds of the soldiers who went out there are right back here in Boston now. Insane. Bad food, terrible living conditions. Why, I'm told there's not even room for all of them in the hospitals * * *." Another false and vicious rumor had gone to work for the Axis.

But this particular rumor did not do as much damage as its originators had hoped. The bartender, who had been leaning idly over the cash register during the conversation, wrote it down as soon as the two men had gone and sent it off to the Rumor Clinic, field headquarters of Boston's unique battle against the corrosion of wartime gossip and enemy propaganda.

A few days later, both the rumor and the answer were printed in the Boston Herald's "Rumor Clinic" column, posted on bulletin boards in factories, announced by speakers at meetings, slipped into department store pay envelopes, wrapped up and sent by laundries to customers along with the clean wash. There wasn't a word of truth in it, according to Army authorities. The facts were that only 47 men in the military service had been returned to Massachusetts for mental care. Not one of them had come from Australia.

About the same time, a young workman was talking to a friend in a hash house near the water front.

"Is our Navy dumb?" he said. "A guy told me today that after they launched that big new battleship, they found there wasn't an antiaircraft gun on the ship."

This story also reached the Rumor Clinic, written on the back of a greasy menu card by the hash-house waiter. It was as quickly and publicly answered. It is quite usual to launch warships without complete installation of guns and other equipment.

Since they were founded last February, Boston's Rumor Clinic and the closely related division of propaganda research have collected, tracked down, and exposed hundreds of wedge-driving and alarm-spreading stories. Included on the advisory boards are the commissioner of police, the district attorney, the United States attorney, psychology professors of Harvard and Boston Universities, newspaper publishers, social workers, and repre-

representatives of the chamber of commerce, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, and the Women's Trade Union League, as well as of the Irish, Jewish, and Negro sections of the population. Behind them stand many ordinary citizens of Boston, who loyally report every damaging story.

One of those most responsible for the rumor clinic is a blue-eyed, golden-haired Irish girl by the name of Frances Sweeney. Miss Sweeney had long been distressed by the anti-Semitic, anti-British, and defeatist rumors current among certain sections of the Boston Irish. Until suppressed by official action, Francis J. Moran, of the Christian Front, had released scores of new ones every time he held a meeting in Hibernian Hall. For months Miss Sweeney had been attending such meetings, often standing up to challenge wild statements by the speakers. In one case she was forcibly ejected from the hall.

Last February, when the crop of destructive rumors was especially disheartening, Miss Sweeney went to William G. Gavin, associate publisher of the Boston Herald. They arranged to call a meeting of public officials and leaders of various groups to plan a campaign for counteracting rumors. A short time before that first meeting, the *Queen Mary* had entered Boston Harbor, stayed a few days, and departed. The newspapers had been requested not to mention it. But a steamer the size of the *Queen Mary* can hardly be hidden, even under a bushel of censorship, and stories were soon running wild around Boston. Prof. Gordon W. Allport, head of the psychology department at Harvard, suggested that each of the 12 persons at the meeting tell the rumors he had heard.

Each one offered a different story. The police commissioner had reports from Negroes that the *Queen Mary* was crammed with colored troops destined for suicide work in the war zone. A college representative had heard there was not a single Jewish soldier aboard, because they all managed to get out of overseas duty. Someone else offered the story of a mutiny. A social worker had been informed that the ship had gone out at night, ablaze from stem to stern, and a businessman had been told that she had sunk not far from Boston, with great loss of American life.

The rich variety of these fantastically false stories convinced all present of the need of a city-wide effort to fight rumor.

Out at Harvard, Robert H. Knapp, a tall, 27-year-old Oregonian, was working for his doctor of philosophy degree under Professor Allport. Mr. Knapp was put in charge of the division of propaganda research, organized under George C. Wiswell as part of the Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, to track down and refute false stories. It came to be known as the Rumor Clinic. A column under that name began to appear weekly in the Boston Herald.

II

Among the tall tales first exposed was one to the effect that the British never bomb the Krupp works in Germany, because a block of shares in it is owned by Winston Churchill (the authors of this report ignored the repeated bombings of Essen, home of the Krupp industries).

William Harrison, a Negro newspaper editor, graduate of Harvard and a member of the rumor advisory board, found that most of the stories circulating among his people described wanton sacrifice of Negro troops. Another complete fabrication was that goods for Russia were being allowed to pile up on the local docks because our Government feared that Russia was about to make a separate peace. And workers had inquired if it were true that they wouldn't be able to buy any more hams,

because all the hams in the country were being sent to Moscow. Irish working people reported a vicious, fantastic lie to the effect that Mme. Litvinoff, English-born wife of the Soviet Ambassador, possessed a great fortune derived from ownership of brothels in London slums. Rumors so deftly tailored to suit different groups are certainly not spontaneous.

As the rumor clinic became known, and the Herald's column punctured one crazy story after another, citizens of Boston responded and there was built up a network of volunteers who reported what they heard. (A strict rule of the clinic is that all letters reporting rumors must be signed.)

Barkeepers are in an excellent position to hear loose tongues and stand high on the list of these volunteers. John J. Kearney, president of the local bartenders' union, has asked his 1,500 members to help the Clinic. Early in July more than 200 "morale wardens" were appointed by 4 important labor unions in the Boston area to report stories floating around the shops. They also distribute pamphlets and posters on the subject of rumor mongering, read bulletins at union meetings, and check the spread of Axis-inspired rumors by spreading the answers given in the Rumor Clinic.

The answers are supplied by the highest possible authorities—usually Army, Navy, and Government officials—and great care is taken not to reveal information of value to the enemy. Before the Herald's column is printed proofs are sent to each member of the advisory board and are checked in addition by the Army, Navy, and Federal Bureau of Investigation. Enemy agents are thus prevented from using the column for purposes of their own. The person who reported, under a fictitious name; that he'd heard there were only 12 antiaircraft guns on the Atlantic coast and then artlessly asked how many there really were and where they were located evidently had an even lower opinion of American intelligence than is usual among Axis agents.

It is easier to collect rumors and to expose their falsity than it is to track them down to their source.

Much of the tracing has been done by Miss Sweeney. This intrepid little Irish girl has run all over the city, climbing tenement stairs and ringing doorbells on Beacon Street in order to run an ugly story to its ultimate starting point. Generally, she meets a dead end at about the third person.

One of the most persistent yarns in Boston was that an American soldier, broadcasting from Australia, said: "After we clean up the Germans and the Japs, we're coming home to take care of the Jews." An advertising man explained that the story had been told him by the man at the next desk, who had actually heard the broadcast. The second man denied that he had heard the broadcast himself, but said that his wife had. The wife told Miss Sweeney that, while she hadn't actually heard the statement she had got it from her mother. Her mother said that it had come, not from her radio, but from her German butcher. When Miss Sweeney tried to question the butcher, he blazed up, yelled that he would not stand for anybody's interference, and ordered her out of the shop. In tracking this rumor through another informant, Miss Sweeney ran it down to a German girl whose family had once belonged to the German-American Bund. The girl said that the broadcast had been heard by her fiancé, who had gone away. A third trail led straight to a member of the Christian front, who also said that he had heard it himself, not as a broadcast, but sung by American soldiers as they sailed away on a troop ship. Even a Junior G-man who got his badge in a package of cereal could figure out where this rumor really came from.

III

There is no doubt that a large proportion of the rumors current in Boston have been deliberately planted. One proof is the close correspondence between many of them and the reports beamed at America by the Axis short-wave broadcasts. The Reverend Walton Cole, a Boston Unitarian pastor, has long made a hobby of listening to the German short-wave radio and recording the high spots. Rumors circulating in Boston are turned over to him by the Rumor Clinic, to be checked against the voices from Berlin. More than half the stories reported to the Rumor Clinic were told on the Axis short-wave a week or two earlier.

According to another type of tale, useful in stirring up fears of treachery at home, a submarine washed up on the Massachusetts coast had in its larder loaves of bread bearing the labels of leading Boston bakers. In the sailors' pockets were stubs of tickets from Gloucester movie theaters. This story was current in 1917. Its effect on gullible people is to make them feel there's a German under every bed, or that quantities of fellow citizens were giving the enemy aid and comfort.

It was reported that Italian fishing boats were seen leaving port heavily laden and riding low in the water, but riding high on their return—just the opposite of what might be expected from a fishing boat. The inference was that they were sailing out with supplies for subs. Facts punctured the story. No enemy aliens may fish off our coasts; all fishermen are carefully investigated before being given permits; such traffic could not exist under the watchful noses of Navy, Coast Guard, and local police.

Rumors which raise false hopes can be just as damaging as those which spread suspicion and fear. For instance, the canard, reported frequently from business circles, that Lloyd's of London was betting 10 to 1 that the war would be over by autumn. Several Massachusetts astrologers have been forecasting a complete Allied victory by the end of this summer, and the crushing of Japan by early fall. Predictions of both these types can do good service for the enemy. Hitler's agents engaged French astrologers, crystal gazers, and palmists by the score to soften up the country by forecasting an early peace and by describing the horrors that would be unleashed if the war continued. Reports which have reached the Rumor Clinic indicate that the enemy may also be deliberately using such predictions to influence American opinion.

German propaganda's attempt to take advantage of every cleavage in American life is shown by the effort to promote prohibition. All at once, Boston mothers began to ask the Rumor Clinic about widespread drunkenness in the Army camps. A check-up of the German short-wave radio showed that it had begun, a week or two before, to pour out false stories about Army camp drinking and to urge mothers to have liquor taken from men in the armed forces.

Government agencies have urged that what is being done in Boston be done elsewhere. No complicated organization or machinery is necessary—the Boston Rumor Clinic works efficiently with a handful of determined, intelligent volunteers, a courageous newspaper, and a thin, far-flung line of sharp-eared scouts. Even lone individuals can accomplish much, if they make it a habit, when an absurd, dangerous rumor comes their way, of asking, "Where did you hear that?" There is often no answer. Another effective rumor swatter is the citizen who takes out paper and pencil, says, "There's a hot one for my collection," and asks to have it repeated word for word. The rumor spreader will often be silenced by his own sense of shame.

The enemy is making a skillful effort to discourage, divide, and defeat us here at

home. He is trying to invade our shops, our houses, and our clubs. We can stop him only if we guard our own lips carefully and challenge every story that might push us even an inch along the dark way of defeat.

SEND IN YOUR RUMORS

What wild, damaging, morale-eroding stories similar to those described in this article are current in your community? Readers who wish to help the Boston Rumor Clinic, and further the organization of other such clinics throughout the country, are urged to write such stories down and send them to Division of Propaganda Research, Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, 18 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I wish to say a word in relation to the subject matter which has just been discussed by the able leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. It is a gracious thing on his part to undertake the defense of the Senate in the manner that he has. I have observed that he has always come to the defense of the individual Members who are assailed, or of the body itself when assailed, and I say it is a gracious thing for him to do—it is an evidence of real leadership.

I wish to add one word to what I have just said. We have all experienced attacks similar to those contained in this publication, in others of like sort. We will all experience them in the time to come in greater degree than we have up to the present. Let them rave. Let them publish what they please. We are not here answering any pictorial publication or answering any particular magazine. We are here to perform a duty, and when every man performs that duty according to his best judgment he has done his full part.

Mr. President, when Senators take time during a session of the Senate to defend the Senate from the implications which follow such a publication as that to which reference has been made then they have done the very thing desired by those who indulge in that sort of thing; they have had their day here after publishing an infernal lie, in which they have dealt with Senators who are now dead, and with persons who have had nothing to do with the actions of the Senate.

Mr. President, we have one thing to do, one thing alone. We will do our duty as we see it. I do not care a rap whether there is a publication called Click, or Dick, or Hick, or whatever it may be; I do not care a rap whether there is a PM, a QM, or some other kind of an M published in this country which remarks about or reflects upon Congress. I do not care a rap what such publications say so long as they say it in any sort of language that may be tolerated. I do not care a rap for what anyone says concerning my vote here. I vote as I please. I vote as I see fit. I vote exactly as God taught me to vote, and I do not care whether all the newspapers in the country rave, and rave, and rave about what we may do here.

To all of them I answer, I am here for a certain purpose. I am here standing upon my own two feet. I am here doing exactly as I see fit and what I

believe to be right. I am here answerable to my conscience alone, not to any newspaper, not to any pictorials, not to any publications in the United States of America. I am here as an American, doing exactly as I see fit and as I see the right, and that I shall continue to do.

PARTICIPATION OF NEGROES IN NATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, the participation of the Negro in our general national activities and defense and war efforts has been of a definitely increased nature in recent years. Not since the days of Lincoln have the Negro men and women been given the opportunities they have by this administration. Daily there are articles published showing the large number of Negroes employed in war tasks and that they are singularly honored in other ways.

I read an excerpt from an editorial in a recent issue of the Chicago Sun relating to the activities of the Negroes:

Negroes hold jobs of every grade of skill. There are metallurgists and electricians at the 18 International Harvester Co. plants; machine operators and heat treater working for the Winchester Repeating Arms Co.; millwrights and locomotive engineers at Carnegie-Illinois; operators in the highest paid brackets on the airplane production line of Pullman-Standard Car Co.; trusted supervisory employees at Inland Steel. Negroes are faithful workers; several of them have passed the 25-year mark in service at the plants surveyed. Negroes get along with their fellow workers.

The Wall Street Journal, in its issue of October 8, 1942, in a headline, says, "Negro Employment Is Rising Fast in War Industries. United States Policy * * * Bring Economic Advancement for the Race."

Speaking of the aircraft factories, the article from the Journal says:

Today the 44 biggest plants employ more than 12,000 of the race.

The Journal further states that—

The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is establishing regional offices. * * * The National Housing Agency and Federal Works Agency are putting money into colored men's pockets through clauses in every construction contract providing that Negroes must be hired in proportion to local population. The clauses are enforced.

Mr. President, last September I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the President's order referring to all loyal and qualified workers, in which the President said:

Industry must take the initiative in opening the doors of employment to all loyal and qualified workers, regardless of race, national origin, religion, or color.

In testifying before one of the House committees, Mr. Leon Henderson, when asked whether, in filling positions in his organization, he would give proportionate recognition to the Negroes of the country, said:

We have—and one of the things that I am quite proud of is—a letter from one of the Negro organizations saying that we were in the forefront in the recognition of Negro employees, and, in addition, we are working to insure that in communities that are largely Negro populated that Negroes are appointed as members on the rationing boards.

Further Negro participation in the war effort was given when the *Booker T. Washington*, named for a great Negro educator, was launched on the west coast. The 10,500-ton Liberty ship last week screamed down the ways of the California Shipbuilding Corporation at Wilmington, Calif. She was sponsored by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, National Director of the Negro Affairs Division of the National Youth Administration; christened by Marian Anderson, the Negro contralto; and will sail for the United States Maritime Commission with a crew of Negro and white seamen under Capt. Hugh Mulzac, of Brooklyn, licensed Negro shipmaster. At the launching were a daughter and two granddaughters of the late Booker T. Washington, for whom the ship was named. Born on a Virginia plantation just before the Civil War, he founded Tuskegee Institute, at Tuskegee, Ala., to train Negroes for teaching and for industry, and became his people's first great leader in their struggle for recognition.

I wish to read the following excerpts from an article in the Washington Star of September 20, 1942, entitled "Recognition Accorded Negroes as Fighters and War Workers. Most Significant Advance Being Made on Home Production Front":

The war is winning the American Negro recognition as a soldier and skilled worker.

On the far-flung battle fronts abroad and on the production front at home he is contributing his blood and skill to a cause which his leaders say he appreciates better than anyone else—the preservation of freedom and democracy.

Negroes comprise a substantial part—some say 40 percent—of the engineering troops building a strategic military road through the Canadian wilds to Alaska.

There are industries that employ Negro engineers, draftsmen, chemists, and scientists. In one Ohio defense plant a colored man is the chief metallurgist in charge of a staff of Negro technicians and is recognized as an authority on stainless steel.

The Government is setting the pace by employing increasing numbers of Negro men and girls as stenographers and clerks in the rapidly expanding war agencies. A separate Negro manpower service has been established in the War Manpower Commission under the direction of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, to expedite the movement of Negroes into war industries.

In the War Department, a former judge of the Federal District Court for the Virgin Islands, William H. Hastie, has been appointed civilian aide to the Secretary of War in charge of Negro relations.

A prominent colored woman, Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, is in charge of Negro activities in the Office of Civilian Defense.

The Manpower Commission has made arrangements to expand training facilities for Negroes in Baltimore and hopes that by such methods sufficient skilled labor can be drawn from the city's large Negro population so that additional workers will not have to be imported into a community whose housing facilities already are overtaxed.

Dr. Weaver estimated there are about 500,000 Negroes employed in war work.

During the last year Negro employment has increased greatly in shipbuilding industries.

In building the greatest military force ever assembled in this country, the Army is planning to use a substantial number of Negro troops. An all-Negro division is in training